

**Article** | **The Authoritarian Government of Angola learning High-Tech Surveillance**

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**Abstract**

José Eduardo dos Santos (JES), President of Angola, has been in charge since 1979, and is also the commander-in-chief of the FAA (Angola Armed Forces) and president of the MPLA, (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, in charge of the country's politics since 1975). Since 2011, inspired by the rise of the Arab Spring, some individuals started group debates, in order to raise awareness pacifically to the authoritarian regime of Angola. Consequently, the government dealt with them with extreme violence, using them as object of punishment, and example of the consequences to expose to whoever tries to oppose. In 2015, a group of 17 activists was arrested in a book<sup>1</sup> reading meeting, and accused of conspiring against JES' government. These constants threats, arbitrary arrests, kidnaps, physical and psychological violence, and constant surveillance, whether in a human or digital form, whether effective surveillance or rooted fear, are part of Angola's regime modus operandi to keep itself as it has been for almost four decades.

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**Introduction**

At the time of writing, Angola is anxiously awaiting elections in August 2017. The president, José Eduardo dos Santos has been in command for 39 years now. He succeeded Agostinho Neto, Angola's first president. There have been several generations born knowing only one president in power, and that's perceived as a scary situation for everyone who cares to look at Angola's political, social, cultural, economic situation. However, the young generations preserve the rebel substance of their ancestors: no longer in the guerrilla style, but following and holding a notorious and pacific activism, despite the lack of information, the control of the media, the poverty, the violence, and constant threats, that's how they roll.

In this paper I try to expose JES' authoritarian government,<sup>2</sup> as the visible face of MPLA, and how it uses surveillance and threat to maintain power and create an idea of approval. Angola is living a moment of prosperous growth at many levels, which doesn't mean better life for the people. That might mean a new form of surveillance, and a new form of resistance. The fast rise of new technologies enables a whole new surveillance reality. The quick arrival of internet and mobile technology devices favors, on one side, the communication amongst activists and their exposal work, on the other side, their work is more exposed to JES government's big eye.

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<sup>1</sup> “Ferramentas para destruir o ditador e enviar uma nova ditadura, filosofia da libertação para Angola”, Domingos da Cruz—one of the activists arrested—adapted from Gene Sharp's “From Dictatorship to Democracy”.

<sup>2</sup> Keeping in mind that he is the face of MPLA, see end note of article.

Way before dos Santos' hegemonic government, there was colonization and colonial administration of the Lusophone countries,<sup>3</sup> the Portuguese diaspora that still wears a mythical cape on the Portuguese educational system and on the minds of way too many Portuguese.<sup>4</sup> It is important to refer to it and understand it to understand how old and rooted is the Portuguese-corrupted power linked to Angola. Nowadays, colonization seems no longer a phantom over Angolan rulers: things got turned the other way round for Portugal, in a long and continuous progress, and now it is Angola, its wealthy governors and investors, that throw a shadow over the Portuguese government and some Portuguese political parties. Portugal has recently borrowed money from Angola, in 2014, to help pay the Portuguese debt to European banks. Since Portugal has been dealing with a massive debt to Troika (European Commission, European Central Bank, IMF), it is clear how the Portuguese companies are interested in accepting investment and allowing Angola to establish its interests in Europe. After the crisis, it was Angola or China buying all Portuguese main companies, public and private (Ames 2015). Seeing the whole situation from a Portuguese perspective, it would be academically dishonest not to mention these links, even though it is not a subject that you can speak of openly, in a 2017 Portuguese social and political environment.

### **Ruling from Cidade Alta**

José Eduardo dos Santos has been ruling from the Cidade Alta, the presidential palace, or the Civil House of the PR, since 1979. He immediately succeeded Agostinho Neto, and none of the elections that he won were totally accepted as clean. Dos Santos is one of the richest families in the world, ruling one of the poorest countries, by contrast. Angola's education system is miserable, but not more than the health system, which is in complete failure, short on professionals, medical material and knowledge.<sup>5</sup>

Lately, Isabel dos Santos, his daughter, was appointed as one of the most powerful, healthy and well succeeded women in the world (Dolan 2013a). She is an electronic engineer, and administrates many companies, both in Angola and in Portugal, from the communication business field, and the powerful oil company Sonangol (Gomes 2017). Also Danilo dos Santos, JES' son, has recently been involved in a social scandal concerning a charity auction bidding. He bought a wrist watch at 500,000€, which earned many comments and remarks all over the world, from his own countrymen to movie stars like Will Smith (DN 2017). Although each of José Eduardo dos Santos' children has his or her own business and fortune to manage, and most of them are involved in scandals related to their wealth (see Club-K 2017), businesses and corruption; after the interviews with Angolan activists, I have learned that we shall speak about the dos Santos family as a whole, where each of JES' comrades is a game piece of the whole game that the system plays on top of the people, each one of them is one face more of the corrupt multi-faced system that is installed in Angola. José Eduardo is the main face of the Cidade Alta. Soon he will be succeeded in the MPLA by João Lourenço, the party's vice president and Angola's Defense Minister. Soon, João Lourenço will be the new JES and the new face of Angola's regime, that the MPLA wishes to perpetuate by any means. This political promiscuity, where everything seems to follow a script previously written, it is what makes us talk about the "game" as a whole, which means that the whole family is involved, accessory and public defender of the whole regime. This family or any other that comes after. It is not only the family that uses the system for their own enrichment, they also know and allow other figures from the government or the army, and their families, to do exactly the same. Besides this, there are the connections to the Portuguese media, government, governors, and CEOs. It is a whole *do ut des* ("I give you so you give me") game, where

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<sup>3</sup> See end note in this article.

<sup>4</sup> The latest news about racism awareness in Portugal, right after the Public Ministry charged 18 police officers, that continuously overuse their power, especially on the urban areas that surround Lisbon. This woke up a whole new wave of debates, dead since the 1990s, about the hegemonic power of the European over the descendant from ex-colonies in Africa, racism, xenophobia, paternalistic attitudes and surveillance of the black body in urban spatial context.

<sup>5</sup> See Angola Ministry of Health Reports at <http://ghdx.healthdata.org/organizations/ministry-health-angola>.

all keep some sort of silence about their actions, and brutally silence whoever speaks from the outside of their circle of power.

This family administrates most of the phone companies available in Angola (and they have already expanded to other Lusophone countries) through the Zap distribution company that provides internet, telephone, cellphone and TV services. Also, besides the control and censorship of the Angolan media, Zap owns SIC,<sup>6</sup> one of the main four Portuguese public channels. SIC is actually more than one channel, it is a group of thematic sub-channels, and SIC Notícias (SIC News) and SIC Internacional (SIC International) got suspended in Angola, in March 2017. *Club-K* newspaper says that, in this pre-elections campaign time, the Angolan authorities are refusing entry visas to SIC journalists “allegedly fearing that they can report irregularities or electoral manipulations in favor of the MPLA”. The same report mentions that, until 2014, the Angolan regime has tried an approach to SIC, “resulting in a commissioned exclusive interview with President José Eduardo dos Santos and his ‘vice’, Manuel Vicente, led by the Portuguese-Israeli journalist Henrique Cyberman”. During this period, the Angolan regime demanded that SIC cease contact with opponents and political leaders of the national opposition. At the same time, and not coincidentally, the Portuguese veteran journalist Mário Crespo lost his job for giving space to the activist and human rights defender Rafael Marques de Morais.

In the middle of all this, there are the people of Angola. Most of the common Angolan citizens avoid a political stance, either due to fear or lack of information, the main weapons of the JES government. Since the colonial war ended and Angola gained its freedom from Portugal, the MPLA gained big support and still works hard to maintain its image. When the civil war was over, vox people, influenced by MPLA, said that JES brought the peace and, for a people who has lived through war, that’s all that matters. About this, Rafael Marques de Morais tells us: “What we have in Angola now is negative peace. It is the absence of conflict, yes. But it is peace without justice, peace without opportunity, peace without democracy. This is not a peace that promises much to the Angolan people (cited in Polgreen 2003).

How does the Angolan Political system work and why does it work in the wrong way? Tom Burgis, in *A Pilhagem de África (The Loot of Africa)*, and Ricardo Oliveira, in *Magnífica e Miserável Angola (Magnificent and Miserable Angola)*, give a name to what most Angolans already know as reality: the “parallel state”. It is controlled by a “complex machine” that the Constitution doesn’t describe, and that corresponds exactly to the promiscuous power net held by the Cidade Alta family. This “complex machine”, based in Cidade Alta, its inhabitants, family, friends and associates, actually controls the organs of the formal state, direct or indirectly, through indications, nominations, and control of ministers, province governors, generals, judges, public companies’ administrators, media, and civil society representatives. Plus, it is formed by experts from diverse nationalities.

All this is intimately connected to, and formally called the Security House of the President of the Republic, and its ramifications, Cidade Alta, the Intelligence Services, and Sonangol (Morais 2000; Redvers 2012). These Intelligence Services, the Security House, and the Civil House detain all the powers transferred from the Ministry, the Parliament, the courts and the CNE (Commission for the National Elections). These Secret Services are known for having a huge net of informers, consultants and undercover spies in the formal state organs to detect and neutralize all the activities considered contrary to the PR’s interests (Vumby 2014).

### **Activism and surveillance**

Between the impoverished, threatened and tortured people, there are the activists, who risk their lives daily to expose the government and its corruption, and also to protest against it. Amongst those protesters, we have already mentioned Rafael Marques de Morais. He belongs to this younger, pacifist generation, but

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<sup>6</sup> To learn more about recent disagreements between Zap and SIC see Público (2017).

already has a long and award-winning career in activist journalism. Consequently, he suffers constant threats, has been involved in numerous court cases, and has served time in jail. Working as a journalist since 1922, he was continuously demoted, and then fired, due to his “tendency to inject unwelcome social commentary into even the driest reportage”, in his own words (Regan-Sachs 2017).

*O Bâton da Ditadura*, that Morais wrote in 1999, points out dos Santos’ responsibility in the fall of the Angolan State, calling him a dictator that promotes “incompetence, embezzlement and corruption as social and political values”, which are “antipatriotic and anti-people”. Marques was later arrested, charged with defamation, with a motion set by the president himself, and subsequently condemned to six months in prison (BBC News 2012). He was charged under Law 7/78, the law on Crimes Against State Security—which contradictorily violates Article 35 of the 1992 Angolan Constitution, which guarantees the right to freedom of expression (Committee to Protect Journalists 2000). Morais reports other abuses such as being woken up in the middle of the night to sign blank documents and, when he refused, he was arrested and denied food and water. He started a hunger strike that gained public proportions, especially through a letter signed by 50 human rights organizations, supporting him while exposing the situation to the world (Mundo 2015), which led to international pressure on Angola. Though he left later on bail, he was forbidden to leave the country, speak to journalists, or even make public statements (BBC News 2000).

Morais wrote about the trade in conflict diamonds in Luanda and Cabinda. In several human rights reports, and in his 2011 book *Diamantes de Sangue—Corrupção e Tortura em Angola (Blood Diamonds: Corruption and Torture in Angola)*, he describes the killing and terrorizing of villagers by private security companies and Angolan military officials in the name of protecting mining operations. He was prosecuted again, this time by two companies, Sociedade Mineira do Congo (Congo’s Mining Society) and by Teleservice, a private security company (Maka Angola 2015). The charge was slanderous complaint against JES, though the process was archived in 2013, due to lack of evidence.

Even common citizens that simply ask for a fair government in Angola get themselves and their families constantly harassed, persecuted, endangered. Between these cases, there are activists, or the Angolan Revolutionary Movement, the self-denominated revús.<sup>7</sup> They have organized many protests defending human rights and social justice, under their pacifist agenda. Susan Oliveira (2015) explains that this movement has its own agenda, a horizontal and libertarian organization, direction, and collective actions in order to raise awareness of the need for deep changes in Angolan society, all of those connected to JES leaving the government. The first motto for their protests was “32 é demais” (“32 is too much/too many”), referring the number of years JES has been in power.

Oliveira also points out that in the middle of the whole revú proposal, rooted in a desire of cultural and political change, through the youth, are rappers that through their songs, lyrics, and videos, make effective political intervention (that finds reflex on their constant presence on protests), “producing a speech of strong impact and social penetration about police violence and attacks to basic human rights by the government”. The rapper Luaty Beirão, also known as Ikonoklasta (Iconoclast, a powerful nickname), shows us this connection between rappers and the social activism of the Angolan Revolutionary Movement: “The Angolan Hip Hop movement is the main force behind this youth that screams JOSÉ EDUARDO OUT! [...] Here in Angola, the conscious Hip Hop, underground, revolutionary, is undoubtedly the soundtrack of the youth in the streets” (Jornal Mapa, cited in Oliveira 2015).

Many violent situations linked to the repression over the protests organized by these revús have been reported constantly since 2011. It intensified after a pacific protest, in Luanda, in May 2012, when police violently repressed the protesters. Alves Kamulingue and Isaías Cassule, two of these activists, disappeared right after the situation. The Angolan people know what happens to these uncomfortable people that simply

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<sup>7</sup> Derives from ‘revolucionário’, or revolutionary.

are missing: they get arrested, tortured, or immediately exterminated. Six months later, the Movement summoned a new protest to request for legal action over the disappearing, after forming a committee composed of relatives of the victims, and the MRA delegates, the rappers Luaty Beirão, Carbono Casimiro, Mbanza Hamza e também Manuel Nito Alves. The committee met the Minister Ângelo Tavares, who said that the whole investigation led to no clues about the whereabouts of the missing activists (Agronotícias 2012, cited in Oliveira). Nito Alves<sup>8</sup> described this meeting as political flattery, with the final intention of identify the activists and/ or MRA members.

In September 2013, there was a new protest asking for answers about the missing activists, and against other forms of police brutality, such as torture of inmates of Viana prison, against the persecution and brutal beating of the zungueiras (street vendors, constantly abused by police forces because they don't have legal documents for their activity), and against the famine in the south region of Angola, Huíle and Namibe. Nito Alves was arrested right before this protest, being only 17 years old at the time. He was carrying t-shirts that would be used in the protest, which read sentences like “José Eduardo fora! Ditador nojento!” (“José Eduardo out! Filthy dictator!”) and “Povo angolano, quando a guerra é necessária e urgente” (“Angolan people, when the war is necessary and urgent”). This last sentence was used by the journalist Domingos da Cruz, for a title of an article, and later a book, based on Gene Sharp's work.

The still recent case of 15+2, also known as the Book Club activists, is intimately related with Gene Sharp's book, *From Dictatorship to Democracy* (2002), Domingo da Cruz's work and a reading group that was formed around this subject. Amongst these readers was Arante Kivuvu, Manuel Nito Alves, Nelson Dibango dos Santos, Nicolas “o Radical”, Itler Samussuku, Dago Nível Intelecto, the reporter Sedrick de Carvalho, Mbanza Hamza, Luaty Beirão, and also Domingos da Cruz. Days later, on June 20, the news reported that 16 young activists were arrested under the charge of preparing a coup d'état, or “preparing an act to alter the public order and security”, in the official announcement by the police. For the activists, this was part of a “campaign of the Angolan regime to silence the critic voices, criminalizing rights that are guaranteed by the Constitution, mainly the freedom to meet and protest, and the exercise of freedom of expression” (esquerda.net 2015).

These activists were arrested in their own houses, and the investigation services apprehended mainly computers and cellphones. They recall the 2011 and 2012 events, where many of them were surprised in their meetings by armed forces (civilian, uniformed, militias), and put under such torture that many of them received serious wounds, broken arms and craniums. Luaty Beirão describes that they, as a group are aware of the risks constantly taken by simply speaking against JES government, and are also aware that they were constantly under surveillance. His position is that, despite this awareness, it's important to keep some distance to avoid the paranoia. Nito Alves prefers to stay constantly informed and able to find new ways of avoiding surveillance or, simply, stay alive. Though, lately, not only Alves, but a few other activists from the Book Club, confess they are psychologically affected and exhausted, which is not surprising considering all these governmental strategies to weaken the non-submissive.

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<sup>8</sup> Nito Alves' name brings the terrifying ghost of his homonym, and communist revolutionary, killed in 1977, at the behest of Agostinho Neto. This happened after a controversial coup d'état against Neto by MPLA internal opposition. Neto's government started a massacre in May 1977, torturing, exiling, and killing thousands of Angolans that were seen as traitors of the regime. This whole situation and the heavy silence about it is, according to Lara Pawson (2014, cited in Oliveira 2015), what makes us understand the low, almost non-existing, participation of the people of Angola in protests, inside this culture of fear. I must add that on June 3rd, Angola had one of the biggest protests that country has ever seen, asking for a clean electoral process. Though organized by UNITA, the opposition political party, many people joined in what seemed a wave of hope for change (Lusa 2017).

## Human spyware: The *sipaios*, poisoning, kidnaps and life threats

Alves tells us that in each and every neighborhood<sup>9</sup> there are these *sipaios*, the informers of the secret services, usually chosen for being close to people of interest for being unsuspecting. The Intelligence Services recruit these men through life threats, personal or against their families, or rather present them good job proposals or money. The *sipaios* can be recruited from your neighbors, friends, colleagues or even family, which creates, as it is supposed, suspicious feelings and uncomfortable situations amongst organized groups.

Both Alves and Beirão refused to eat the prison's food, fearing being poisoned. Each one of them gave me a specific known example of activists to whom that happened. Alves describes<sup>10</sup> substances that destroy your health through the years or kill you months later. So after a few protests, all the 15+2 prisoners were given the right to grab their food directly from their relatives' hands.

Beirão (2016) constantly refers to the actions of the Brigadas de Baixa Visibilidade (Low Visibility Brigades). When asked about it, since no further information was available, both Beirão and Alves made clear that it is a special department of the ANA (Angola National Police) that, basically, makes inconvenient figures and voices, like theirs, disappear. For this "cleaning squad", the work is easier when the citizens caught are not as newsworthy as Beirão and his colleagues. Just by the end of April 2017, seven other activists have disappeared after asking for clean elections, and the police only reported about them thanks, once again, to the information spread through new media (DW 2017).

Maybe we can speak about "medium-tech surveillance" in Angola when referring to the presumably ex-KGB devices that Angolan Secret Services seem to use. This *sipαιο* mentioned by Nito Alves confessed that he has filmed and taped the activists' conversations the whole time through some devices that the Secret Services had given him and, as described, a video-recorder pen, and a tape recorder "that looked like a car's ignition". This is a serious question that needs further investigation, because the links between MPLA, the Portuguese Communist Party, and the Russian Government (including their secret services) is not clear yet. Though about this, Fernando Vumby (2014) gives us a powerful insight. He says that the Secret Services of Angola are compromised with unclear interests and weird strategies connected to "national causes elaborated by JES" and his Cuban, Chinese, and a few Angolan advisors.

"This deep compromise with a president with no credibility, artist in money wash and silent killing" stops the Secret Services from doing the deep and serious work of investigation and analysis of political and economic crimes, and other hidden ones committed by famous governors. He adds that Angola is the country with more foreigners working for the secret services, specifying Portuguese, Brazilians, Cubans, Russians, Congolese, Saotomese, Capeverdians, and Lebanese; though Alves adds Israelis to this list. There is also mention of undercover "moles" in a wide range of sectors such as industry, commerce and, of course, diplomacy, usually delegates of the army.

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<sup>9</sup> Kivuvu Lopes adds that, lately, even university classes are under police surveillance.

<sup>10</sup> He added, as a curiosity, that when later one of these poisonings takes effect, the popular voice used to blame a presumed jealous wife.

## High-Tech Surveillance

Keeping up with progress,<sup>11</sup> the internet reached Angola in 1996, but the high prices, weak electricity services (the inability to keep a constant and stable electricity system, even in Luanda, is a huge paradox of this technological growth), and lack of infrastructures outside of Luanda kept people away from it. Access to information and communication technologies (ICTs) has improved since 2002. Before that, this area was primarily run by the state, through the company Angola Telecom,<sup>12</sup> that still holds the monopoly over the sector. According to the telecoms' regulator, mobile services are provided by two "private" operators: Movitel and Unitel. Portugal Telecom and state-owned Sonangol each have a 25 per cent stake in Unitel. Isabel Dos Santos also holds a quarter of Unitel, "in addition to sitting on the telecom provider's board" (Dolan 2013b). Meanwhile, as of 2009, 80 per cent of Movitel is split between four private Angolan companies, while the remainder capital is held by two state enterprises (Morais 2013).

JES wanted to incorporate digital media tools to combat electoral fraud in 2012. Coincidentally, internet activism flourished and people started to understand its communicative capacities. In 2008, Marques de Morais created a useful, clean anti-corruption website called Maka Angola. Luaty Beirão has a famous Facebook profile, as well as his Book Club comrades, where they expose everyday police and government abuse.

In Angola, ICT content is not under restrictions, though the government intends to limit internet freedom. One of the legal measures created is the "Law to Combat Crime in the Area of Information Technologies and Communication", also referred to as the cybercrime bill (March 2011), that would allow authorities to intercept information from private devices without a warrant. International pressure and objections from society led to the law being withdrawn. In 2013, it was reported that the Angolan Intelligence Services might be implanting a monitoring system that could track digital communications. Complaints about technical attacks against independent and critical news websites, blogs, and opposition voices are common.<sup>13</sup>

## Issues to Consider

That said, it is not shocking that the activists know that their calls, texts, and emails are all tracked. This explains why it is so easy to find them and catch them at the places where they gather, keeping them from joining the rest of the population in public protests (Rede Angola 2015). So how can a country in which the use of the internet is so recent, and the use of smartphones and apps of social network are so widely used, start getting informed and avoid such surveillance methods? What kind of effects does this have in such a small amount of time in a population that barely had time to experience the rise of ICTs? Are the users aware of the gates they have left open for the state or secret services to track them? For what I have understood of our interviews, more important than security for the activists (though taking risks is necessary), is the need to expose the big picture, case by case, for more and more people to see. There will be one day, similar to what has already happened previously, that the information will spread so widely that not even JES can stop the public opinion, despite the Portuguese government's silence, despite the Portuguese Communist Party silence, at all times.

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<sup>11</sup> The government's Master Plan for ICT development envisions connecting the country's 18 provinces through a national fiber optic backbone. Connection to the international internet goes through the South Atlantic 3 (SAT-3) cable, over which the state-owned Angola Telecom has a monopoly. Angola is also looking to connect to the Africa Coast to the European (ACE) cable and the West Africa Cable System (WACS) in the future, in addition to establishing a submarine cable between Northeastern Brazil and Luanda to reduce the bandwidth costs associated with the distance that internet traffic currently has to travel from Europe and the United States (Jover et al. 2012).

<sup>12</sup> There is a Portugal Telecom, that now is a Chinese company.

<sup>13</sup> Morais computer has been hacked in such a way his activities were being print screened and sent remotely—the surveillance expert who detected this pointed out how simple the system was (Morais' open Facebook account).

The way Cidade Alta treats Angolan protesters and activists gives us a good perspective on surveillance methods and the way they are used to keep peace and quiet in a system that is already rotten. The slow and ambitious evolution of high-tech surveillance services shows us also that Cidade Alta has discovered a new way of blocking information and communication, and also gathering precious data. The catalogue of abuses towards these activists' freedom is also a catalogue of the growth and maturity of Angolan surveillance walking towards a high-tech era.

## **Appendix: Some historical and political context**

Looking back to the colonial history that links Portugal and Angola, we must consider two main periods: the one that's still called "conquista", or conquest, which corresponds to the early colonial period (16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries), and the modern colonial period. The first begins, obviously, with the establishment of the Portuguese navigators and government, ruling directly in Luanda, in 1589. Actually, there were no boundaries at the time and the tribes that occupied the modern territory of Angola, southeast of the nowadays Angola region (where the Portuguese settled in 1576 and founded the town of São Paulo de Assunção de Luanda, current Luanda city) were in migration and constant conflict. The migrations continued through the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and modern boundaries were defined already in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (1890-1926), through treaties with France, Belgium, Britain, Germany and South Africa (M'Bokolo 2003; Torres 1991).

The starting point of the conquista period is the arrival in Zaire of the navigator Diogo Cão, in 1482. By then, there were three main colonial reigns that dominated the region, and the three sobas, or kings, were fighting (Amaral 1996). Political instability was frequent in Kongo kingdoms, so its manakongo, the ruler, requested Portuguese military support, in 1491. By the time, Sebastião, king of Portugal, charged Paulo Dias de Novais with the conquest and subjugation of what he called "the Kingdom of Angola". Novais arrived in Luanda, in 1571, by arrangement with King Álvaro I of Kongo, now the Portuguese Mekong, in recompense for that help against the Jaga's attack. So the Portuguese explored deeply these rivalries: the sobas were crucial to the Portuguese continuous influence, so their power was recognized by the Luanda government in return for taxes and services (providing porters, soldiers, procuring food, slaves, etc.) (González Sánchez 2007). Conquista implies that the administration of Portuguese Angola was military based, before the modern era, and we will see how this military spirit continues until nowadays.

The second colonial period, in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, has three important turning points that help us preview the troubled period that is ahead. The fall of the Portuguese monarchy and republican reorganization of the empire, in 1910. The rise of the New State (Estado Novo), or the Portuguese dictatorship regime, under António Salazar's government, in 1930. This led to, in 1951, the change of the status of Angola from colony to Overseas Province, which meant to symbolize the unity of all Portuguese territories, in order to face the increasing pressure for decolonization. A third turning point, that corresponds to a third phase of the colonial administration of Angola, is the Portuguese response to the outbreak of anticolonial rebellions, in 1961 (Martins 2005), with the colonial war.

### *Pro-independence movements and civil war*

The main Angolan pro-independence movements may show us the root for the coup that led to the fall of dictatorship in Portugal, and to Angolan rise as a "free" country. The FNLA (Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola/ National Front for Angola Freedom) starts as a political movement, in 1954. By the end of the 1950s, small anti-colonial groups and the recent Angolan cell of the Portuguese Communist Party, form the MPLA (Movimento Para a Libertação de Angola/ Movement for the Freedom of Angola), having Agostinho Neto as leader. In 1960, led by Jonas Savimbi, appears UNITA (União pela Libertação Total de Angola/ Union for total Liberation of Angola). Together, they fought the anti-colonial war, against the Portuguese army, from 1961 to 1974 (Santos 2008).



As soon as the colonial war was over, after the fall of the dictatorial regime in Portugal, these three forces fought each other for Angola's power, each one supported by different countries. They were separately proclaiming Angola's independence before even getting to a political inter-party agreement, in order to reach an intern pacification. MPLA succeeded in forming an internationally recognized Marxist-inspired government, but it was challenged by FNLA and UNITA. MPLA won this conflict and established government, with Agostinho Neto as first president.

With the support of Cuba, the MPLA defeated the FNLA in the late 1970s, though the intrastate conflict continued with UNITA (Mateus and Mateus 2007). When the latter lost the elections, it resumed the armed struggle. In 2002, the killing of Jonas Savimbi, UNITA leader and founder, opened the way for a negotiated settlement of the conflict, though still not completely solved.

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